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TRADE UNIONS IN AMERICA

By W. Z. FOSTER, J. P. CANNON
and E. R. BROWDER

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The American Trade Unions.

By WM. Z. FOSTER.

THE trade union movement of the United States and Canada contains many well-defined species of unionism. These may be classified as follows: Petty bourgeois liberal, socialist, Communist, syndicalist, nationalist, and Catholic.

The petty-bourgeois liberal are the most typically American in character. They comprise the vast bulk of the whole movement, including almost all of the unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, as well as such important independent organizations as the four railroad brotherhoods. These unions have very little social outlook. They are engaged in a day-by-day struggle to improve conditions under the capitalist system. They not only have no new social system in mind, but they strongly repel all revolutionary ideas. When charged with actually aiming to perpetuate wage slavery, they reply hypocritically, in the words of Samuel Gompers, that they seek the maximum improvement of the conditions of the workers, and that "there is nothing so lofty that the workers may not aspire to it," which means in practice the support of capitalism. Their inbred policy is the collaboration of classes, except that they refuse even to recognize that any real classes exist.

The socialist unions are located mostly in the needle trades. The five principal unions in that industry number about 300,000 members. They are made up overwhelmingly of foreign-born workers. They are officially dominated by the socialist party, and especially by the

newspaper, the Jewish Daily Forward. They are of the usual Amsterdam type except that the officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (men's clothing), for a time showed strong left tendencies, which they are now abandoning. Except for these unions and an occasional local union or small national organization, few of the unions are even mildly socialistic. In the early days of the movement, being founded by radicals, many had a revolutionary tinge. Likewise up until just before the war, when the socialist party was strong and vigorous, many unions were under the influence of the socialists including such important organizations as the coal miners, painters, metal miners, etc. But since then these unions have all gone over to Gompers' camp, even as the whole socialist party has practically done, so far as its labor union policies are concerned. At this time the socialists who formerly controlled one-third of the votes in the A. F. of L., have no nuclei in the trade unions, nor are they carrying on any war against the old bureaucracy

Those unions that are definitely Communist (apart from the Communist-led minorities in the lareg unions), are few in number, totalling at most 40,000 members. They are independent of the A. F. of L. and center chiefly around the United Labor Council of America, with headquarters in New York. The principal organization in this group is the Amalgamated Food Workers, with about 15,000 members. A couple of the many independent unions of shoe workers show Communist tendencies The Communist movement follows the policy of organizing nuclei within the mass trade unions. Its expression is the Trade Union Educational League, which is described in another pamphlet of this series, and which has a large following in all the mass organizations.

The syndicalist union is the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.). This organization, founded in 1905, has had a stormy history. **It now has about 35,000** members. It follows a policy of dual or rival unionism, paralleling the old organizations wherever it can. It is

independent of the A. F. of L. The I. W. W. condemns all political parties, and confines itself entirely to the struggle on the industrial field. Sharp differences between it and European syndicalist unions are that it advocates a centralized administration and the industrial form of organization. It speaks of the overthrowal of capitalism by direct action and the establishment of a new society organized and controlled by the labor unions. The "One Big Union," a small independent union claiming to be a general labor movement, is a mixture of socialist and syndicalist tendencies.

The nationalist unions are to be found in Canada They exist in the railroad and in other industries. They are described elsewhere herein. Most of them have developed out of secession movements away from the American international unions. Patriotic demogogues, taking advantage of the discontent of the Canadian workers at the domination of American union officials, have been able to get considerable numbers of the Canadians to withdraw and to found independent national unions These, of course, are of an ultra-conservative character

The Catholic unions are also located in Canada, especially in the very backward province of Quebec. The Catholic church organizes no separate unions in the United States. This is because it finds effective expression through the trade union leaders, a large number of whom are Irish Catholics. For many years a feature of all A. F. of L. conventions has been the Catholic priests there lobbying for measures wanted by their church.

Membership of Unions.

The trade unions of the United States and Canada are numerically very weak. At present, out of an organizable working class of at least 20,000,000 workers, they comprise only 3,600,000. Of these 2,900,000 are in the American Federation of Labor, 600,000 are in independent conservative unions (railroad brotherhoods, clothing workers, etc.), and 100,000 in independent revolutionary organizations (I. W. W., U. L. C. of A., etc.). In the

great prosperity immediately following the war the unions, all told, had at least 5,500,000, of which 4,078,740 were in the A. F. of L. in 1920. Since then the unions have lost almost 50 per cent of their effectives. Of the present membership, approximately 270,000 are in Canada.

Trade union organization is concentrated chiefly in those industries where skill still plays a large part. The unskilled industries, with but few exceptions, are almost entirely unorganized. The most strongly organized industry is the **building trades.** The unions control most of the big industrial centers and are able to insist upon strong union agreements with the employers. In the smaller towns the degree of organization is much lower in the building trades, as in all others. The largest union in the industry is the **carpenters** (United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners) numbering 350,000. Altogether, the building trades have 800,000 members. The **coal miners** (United Mine Workers), are a powerful union with 400,000 members out of a total of 800,000 employed in the industry. The **printing trades** number 125,000, of whom about half are in the International Typographical Union, which, like all the printing unions, is affiliated to the A. F. of L. The **clothing trades** are strongly organized. During the war and for a year or two afterward, the **railroad unions** were very strong, about 1,500,000 out of a total of 1,800,000 workers being affiliated to them. But they lost heavily as a result of the economic depression and the ill-fated strike of the mechanics in 1922-23. At present all the organized railroad workers do not number more than 600,000, and these are contained mostly in the telegraphers and the four independent brotherhoods of train service workers. The **textile industry,** with 1,000,000 workers, has only about 75,000 organized, and these arein several rival unions. The **shoe and leather industry** is only about 10 per cent unionized. The great **oil, steel, meat packing, metal mining, auto-**

mobile, and chemical industries are almost completely unorganized. Likewise the **marine transport** and **lumber industries,** save for small and weak A. F. of L. and I. W. W. unions. The millions of **agricultural workers, municipal** and **state employes, clerical help,** and **general factory workers** have no organization at all except in the rare instances of skilled workers and a small union of migratory agricultural workers in the I. W. W. In many of these industries, whwich are completely outside of trade union influence, the employers set up so-called "company unions," which are controlled by the bosses and which serve merely to delude and demoralize the workers.

Composition of the Working Class.

American industries contain millions of foreign-born workers of all nationalities. In the great Homestead steel mills, for example, 54 nations are represented. Comparitively few of these foreign-born workers are organized except in the clothing and mining industires. The American workers tend to monopolize the best jobs in industry hence they predominate in most of the skilled workers' unions. The four railroad brotherhoods are almost entirely American in character, while the four largest clothing unions are made up almost altogether of foreign-born One-seventh of the population of the United States are Negroes. These tend constantly to migrate from the agricultural south to the industrial north, from the farms into the industries. Already great numbers of them are engaged in the steel, packing, automobile, railroad and other industries. They are almost entirely unorganized Many of the unions, notably the four brotherhoods, with the machinists, railway clerks, railway carmen, etc., openly refuse to accept them as members. This forces them to act as strikebreakers. The Negro question is a serious problem to the whole trade union movement. Women workers are also very weakly organized, except in the needle trades, where they play a very important part in the unions. Ordinarily the women workers join the same

local unions as men in the same trades. In the A. F. of L. all the unions which contain considerable numbers of women are affiliated to the Women's Trade Union League This national body is typically conservative. Its alleged aim is to organize and educate women workers generally.

Structure of Unions.

The American Federation of Labor is the principal trade union center for the United States and Canada. It is a very loose federation of 111 national and international unions and 523 directly affiliated local unions. It is administered by an executive council of 11 members, elected at the yearly general conventions. These conventions are composed almost solely of the higher officials. With the exception of one year, Samuel Gompers was president of the A. F. of L. continuously since 1886, until his death in December, 1924. The organization was founded in 1881.

The A. F. of L. is divided into four departments building, railroad, metal and union label. The function of these departments is to secure cooperation among their affiliated unions. They were formed a few years ago tc forestall a strong movement for industrial unionism. Strong resistance is made by the Gompers' clique against forming departments in other industries and those that exist have very little power. At best they are only very weak federations. Only one, being peculiar, merits description. This is the union label department. In the A. F. of L. there are 61 national organizations using different labels, stamps, and cards, which serve to indicate that their products are made by union workers. All these union label organizations are combined in the union label department. They keep up a constant campaign to induce the workers to use nothing but union made goods. The scheme, being in essence an attempt to control the purchasing power of the workers, is a sort of substitute for the co-operative and boycott movement proper. Great abuses attach to this union label agitation, which serve tc

weaken the labor movement. Unions having labels tend to lose their militancy. They get agreements with the employers on the basis of the amount of trade they control. The interests of the workers are often completely lost sight of in such union label bargains. Sometimes a system of semi-espionage develops, in which the workers have no say whatever over the regulation of their wages, hours and working conditions. Often serious corruption results by the officials selling the union label to "unfair" employers.

Although the A. F. of L. itself is decentralized, the 111 national and international unions composing it are highly centralized and autonomous bodies. These unions range in character from pure craft unions to pure industrial. The craft, or near craft, is the predominant structural type. In the railroad industry there are 16 "standard" organizations, one for each of the big craft divisions. The building trades are divided into 15 important organizations, and the printing trades into six. There are six unions in the clothing industry, and 25 in the metal industry. The food industry has several national craft organizations. During strikes these many unions in the various industries customarily scab on each other, save in the few cases where they have alliances among themselves. The usual method is for one or more unions to strike while the rest remain at work. In the national strike of railroad shopmen, 1922, nine unions struck while seven stayed at work. Such a lack of solidarity is of course ruinous to the workers' interests.

On the other hand there is only one union, the United Mine Workers, which includes workers of all classes employed in and around the mines. In the textile industry there is one A. F. of L. union, industrial in form, and half a dozen or more small independents. A similar condition prevails in the shoe and leather industry. In the general transport industry there are a dozen A. F. of L. national craft unions and several independents. The local type of unions that characterizes the British movement, is

absent in America. The A. F. of L. unions stretch over the whole expanse of the United States and Canada. A big rank and file movement is being carried on by the Trade Union Educational League to amalgamate all these craft organizations into a dozen industrial unions.

In each of the states of the United States (and in some of the provinces of Canada) the A. F. of L. has state federations, comprising all the local unions in the respective territories involved. In all the industrial centers similar federations, on a local scale, are in existence These state and city central bodies are purposely kept weak by the centralized national unions. They have insignificant representation at the A. F. of L. conventions They have very little power either industrially of politically, the national unions watching them jealously as a dangerous, class type of organization. In Canada all the unions affiliated to the A. F. of L. are crystallized into the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The conservative independent unions, including the four railroad brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, etc., follow the general structural type prevailing in the A. F. of L. They are craft unions. On the other hand, most of the revolutionary independent unions take the industrial form. The I. W. W. particularly is a militant advocate of this type of organization. Operating under one general executive board, it sets up unions for each of the more important unions listed. Its strongholds are in the marine transport, metal mining, agriculture, lumber and general construction industries The United Labor Council is a federation of revolutionary industrial unions. The Canadian O. B. U. organizes class unions with local autoonomy.

Miscellaneous Features.

The main body of American organized labor is unaffiliated with the workers of the world. The A. F. of L was affiliated to the Amsterdam International, but withdrew because that reactionary organization wass "toc

revolutionary." Some of its affiliated national unions however, retain their connections with the corresponding Amsterdam organization. Among the unions retaining such affiliations are the Miners, Longshoremen, Machinists, and Ladies Garment Workers. The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, although its constituent units are in the A. F. of L. remains affiliated to Amsterdam. In the A. F. of L. the movement for international affiliation is yet weak, both for Amsterdam and Moscow, but the growing strength of the Red International adherents within the unions, plus the desire to forestall the world unity movement of the R. I. L. U. is bringing the officialdom to consider reaffiliation to Amsterdam. The central labor councils of Minneapolis, Detroit and Seattle sent delegates to the R. I. L. U. Congresses, but could not affiliate directly. The Nova Scotia miners voted to affiliate, but had their charter taken from them by the head of the miners' union, John L. Lewis. The United Labor Council is affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions. The I. W. W. has no international affiliation. At its 1923 convention it voted down propositions of affiliation both to the Moscow and Berlin Syndicalist Internationals. There is a strong element in the organization which holds that the I. W. W. is in itself the International.

The conservative trade unions have strongly developed insurance features, including benefits for strikes, death, sickness, unemployment, etc. This is especially true of the organizations of the most skilled workers, the unions of unskilled workers being unable to collect the high dues (which sometimes are as much as $10.00 per month) necessary to maintain such insurance. The four railroad brotherhoods have exceptionally highly developed insurance departments. Likewise the printers; in their recent great national strike the latter paid out $17,000,000 in strike benefits. On the other hand, all the revolutionary organizations are opposed to the insurance system. They charge low dues and depend upon their

economic power, rather than upon their funds, to win strikes and to hold their membership together.

The trade union system of educating the membership in established schools is still in a very primitive state. The only industry which evidences any serious development of this nature is the needle trades. The unions in this branch all have regular educational departments. Within the last five years a number of trade union colleges were started in Boston, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Montreal and a few other cities, but the movement has not prospered. The only live institution of this character now existing is the Brookwood College just outside of New York. It is supported by radical and liberal sources. Two years ago the labor educational institutions, mostly of a radical character, combined into the Workers' Education Bureau. But the lieutenants of Gompers managed to seize control of it and to strangle it. The whole "workers' education" movement is taking on an ever more distinct class collaborationist character.

For many years American trade unions have tried to establish a real co-operative movement. The miners, clothing workers, the railway trackmen and various central labor councils have been especially active in this direction. But such efforts have almost universally failed. Either the men managing the co-operatives were incompetent or corrupt and wrecked them outright, or the enterprises became capitalistic by one means or another. Within the past four years this movement has taken a new turn in the formation of labor banks. The Machinists launched the first bank; then followed one by the Locomotive Engineers; and after that came many more in rapid succession. At present there are about 25 of such institutions in various big industrial centers. Their total capitalization is about thirty millions of dollars. With the corruption and incompetence now prevailing among labor officials, it will be a marvel if a number of these banks do not go the way of similar labor enterprises by failing ignobly. When financially

successful they are being used as instruments to boster up the failing power of reactionary trade union officials and to reinforce their policies of class collaboration.

Many American unions of skilled workers show tendencies towards becoming "job trusts." They restrict apprenticeship and charge exhorbitant initiation fees. Often they refuse entirely to accept members. This exclusive tendency prevails especially in the building trades. Sometimes these unions charge as high as $300 initiation fee. A common practice among them is to close their books and to refuse to accept into their ranks even members of their own national unions coming from other cities. If work is plentiful these newcomers are granted "working permits," for which they pay the union $1,00 or more per day. When work gets scarce the members of the union refuse to give out working permits, with the result that they have a monopoly of whatever work is to be had. Such practices are disastrous to the morale and solidarity of the workers.

A striking feature of American trade unionism is the graft and corruption prevailing among the officialdom. The officials, by playing politics within the organizations, manage to hoist their remuneration to fantastic heights. Salaries of $5,000 per year are common for officials of lower grades, while those in the higher executive positions receive $10,000, $15,000 or even $25,000 per year, together with the most extravagant expense accounts. In order to pay such huge amounts, the rank and file of the unions are taxed to a degree that is disastrous for the life of the unions. Not satisfied with even these salaries, many leaders descend to outright thievery. They rob the workers, the employers, and the "public" indiscriminately. They call strikes arbitrarily and then sell them out for cash payments. At the present time, Robert Brindell, formerly President of the Building Trades Council of New York, is in Sing-Sing prison serving a sentence of five years for having stolen great sums of money from the employers. Sometimes these officials, notably in the large cities, are profes-

sional criminals with jail records, who use their labor connections to cover up the most nefarious activities. At this time "Big Tim" Murphy, a prominent Chicago trade unionist, is sojourning three years in Leavenworth penitentiary for having robbed the United States mails of $100,000. Often labor officials in the building trades are criminals, who maintain their control over the organizations virtually at the point of the gun. The worker who tries to oppose them actually does so at the risk of his life. Constant feuds rage between these gunmen officials, marked by frequent killings. Many of these dishonest officials have grown wealthy, becoming even real capitalists and living in luxury. John Mitchell, former President of the United Mine Workers, died worth $500.000. Often after an official has held an important position in his union for many years, he will go right over to the employers and become an official in their companies and take charge of organizing their fight against his own union. Many leaders of the Miners and Steel Workers have gone this route. The European labor movement has much corruption and betrayal among the officials of the trade unions, but the situation in this respect in the American labor movement is incomparably the worst in the world.

The trade union movement of the United States and Canada have an extensive system of journalism. But for the most part it is contemptible in quality. Each of the national and international unions has its own journal, usually a monthly. Besides, there are many labor papers in the various industrial centers, some owned by the unions and others by individuals. There is a general news collecting agency, the Federated Press, which serves about 100 papers. It is supported by the liberal and radical elements and fought by the reactionaries. The A. F. of L. publishes a monthly magazine, a weekly news service, and it has the International Labor News Service, which is mostly a propaganda instrument for the Gompers machine. The various independent unions, revolutionary and conservative, also have

their own journals. The I. W. W. has a press in several languages. A feature of American labor journalism is the extreme corruption afflicting it. Often this passes belief. The worst affected are those published weekly in the larger cities. These live by catering to the employers for donations and advertisements. In return they carry on a ceaseless war against all progress in the unions and they often betray the workers' strikes. In Pittsburgh, for example, there are three of such fraud labor papers. In 1919 they all openly fought against the great steel strike, one of the most crucial struggles in labor history in this country. The corruption of the labor press is one of the most striking characteristics of the unparallelled backwardness of the American labor movement.

Origin and Structure of the T. U. E. L.

FOR the first time in the history of the American labor movement the left wing is acting as an organized body, and is carrying on its work within the trade unions according to a systematic and centrally directed plan. The name of this organization of the left wing is the Trade Union Educational League. It is led by Communists, but it is not strictly a Communist organization since it unites under its banner radical and revolutionary workers of all kinds for the common struggle against the capitalistic bureaucracy which dominates the American trade unions.

There has always been a strong radical element amongst the organized workers of America. Indeed, in the decade prior to 1890 the whole movement was dominated by a militant spirit. The revolutionaries of those days attached themselves to the established trade unions and made their influence felt upon them. The tremendous eight-hour day movement of that period, accom-

panied by collossal strikes, fought with great bitterness and militancy, was the fruit of their work. The Chicago anarchists who were hanged in 1887 were trade unionists and the real crime for which they were foully murdered was not bomb throwing, but revolutionary agitation in the labor unions. A study of their literature shows that they were much closer to the present day Communists in their outlook and methods than to the anarchists.

But after 1890, a fundamental error crept into the tactics of the revolutionaries. Revolutionary impatience, combined with a false theory of the trade union movement, gave rise to the idea that the class conscious workers should leave the old conservative trade unions and found an entirely new movement on socialistic principles. The socialist labor party adopted this policy and in 1895 sponsored the organization of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, a socialist trade union organization. The I. W. W. ,founded in 1905, into which the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was merged, is an embodiment of the same idea. This doctrine of separatism completely dominated all branches of the radical movement until very recently.

These new unions, formed by the enthusiastic militants, did not succeed in replacing the old conservative organizations. On the contrary, their ultimate result was to isolate the class conscious workers from the main body of organized labor, and to leave the old unions to the unchallenged control of the blackest reactionaries. The fact that the trade unions of America today are dominated by men who openly declare their partnership with capitalism and who do not even pretend to stand on the platform of the class struggle can be attributed, in a large measure, to this mistaken policy of the revolutionary workers in the past.

Early Formation of Left Wing.

The break with this tactic dates in reality from the latter part of the year 1921, when the Trade Union Educational League began to develop its activities on a wide

scale, with the full support of the Communist Party. But years of pioneer effort preceded the flourishing movement of today. As far back as 1911 William Z. Foster returned from a trip to Europe, where he had gone as the delegate of the I. W. W. to the International Trade Union Congress, an ardent convert to the syndicalist principles of the "militant minority," and began a campaign in the I. W. W. for the new idea. He urged the I. W. W. to transform itself into a propaganda organization and called upon the militants to return to the old unions and fight within them for revolutionary principles. The I. W. W. was then at a very low tide and his arguments found a sympathetic hearing. For a time it appeared possible that the campaign would be crowned with success, but the outbreak of a number of strikes in 1912 and 1913, under the leadership of the I. W. W., gave that body a new lease on life and shattered all prospects of changing its course.

Thereupon, Foster and his supporters withdrew from the I. W. W. and organized the Syndicalist League of North America for the purpose of propagating revolutionary principles among the craft organizations. Some success attended its first efforts, and groups were organized in a number of the principal centers. The work was stimulated by several publications, The Syndicalist in Chicago, The Unionist in St. Louis, The International in San Diego, and The Editor in Kansas City. In the last named city the Syndicalist group soon secured a strong footing and the movement registered in several other places; but eventually it disintegrated. The radical workers could not be won over in large numbers to the idea of working inside the old unions. In a few years the Syndicalist League was only a memory.

With the organization of the International Trade Union Educational League in 1916, another attempt was made to start systematic work for the radicalization of the unions. But it, also, was short-lived. The response of the militants to the new organization was poorer than

before, and, after a brief existence, it disappeared.

When the present Trade Union Educational League was first organized in 1920, under the leadership of Comrade Foster, tremendous changes were already at work in the radical movement which were preparing the ground for its success. The Communist Party had entered the field and was enlisting the most advanced and energetic militants under its banner. At first the young Communist movement had committed itself to the policy of leaving the old unions and building new ones on revolutionary principles. By the spring of 1920, a minority was fighting for the new policy at the convention of the United Communist Party, but the official policy remained the same. Consequently, the Trade Union Educational League, deprived of the assistance of the Communists was able to make but little headway during its first year.

But the new idea was taking hold in the revolutionary ranks. The lessons of the past mistakes, the influence of the Russian revolution, and the policy of the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International were all combining to bring about a complete change in the attitude of the revolutionists toward the trade unions. By December, 1920, the minority in the United Communist Party had become the majority, and at the Unity Convention in June, 1921, the new policy of working within the established mass unions was unanimously adopted. The categorical stand of the 1921 Congresses of the Comintern and Profintern threw the deciding weight into the scale, and in short time the great majority of the radical workers were won over.

This remarkable change of sentiment blew the breath of life into the Trade Union Educational League, and it immediately became a factor of great importance in the labor movement. Comrade Foster, the master organizer, harnessed the energy of the militants to a program of remarkable practicality and drove it with full speed into the trade union movement. The effect was electrical. The trade unions reacted to the Trade Union

Educational League like soil to the plow.

The first big organization campaign began in February, 1922. The method employed to establish the league organizationally was a marvel of comprehensiveness and simplicity; a broad, sweeping movement combined with the most painstaking attention to all technical details. All plans were carefully worked out beforehand, and after the most thorough preparation, circular letters were send to militant workers in all parts of the country, outlining the aims of the league and giving precise and detailed directions as to how to proceed. The militants in every city were called upon to organize a local group of militant unionists on a given date. The response was magnificent. Branches were set up in all principal unions and industrial centers of the United States and Canada. The organizational base of the league was established at one stroke. In March, 1922, the **Labor Herald**, monthly official organ of the league, was launched.

The capitalists and their labor lieutenants were not slow to sense the danger of this new organization. Gompers denounced it at once as a diabolical plot of the Russians to break up the American Federation of Labor and overthrow the United States government. He declared Foster to be an agent of Lenin who had been supplied with unlimited funds for the purpose of establishing "a thousand secret agents in a thousand cities." In the fall of 1922 the United States government struck a blow at the league, raiding the national office and the national conference. The attempt to railroad Foster to the penitentiary in Michigan was a boomerang. The jury disagreed, and the case was utilized to the utmost for propaganda purposes. The reactionaries, thoroughly alarmed, are doing everything they can do against the league and against Comrade Foster. The Amsterdam tactic of expulsions is beginning to be employed in several unions and the slander campaign against Comrade Foster has reacheda height unparalleled in the history of the American movement. An attempt to assassinate him was

made in 1923 in Chicago, during a severe struggle against expulsions in the garment unions. But it is of no avail. The net result of it all is to draw the militant workers in very great numbers around the league.

Structure of the T. U. E. L.

The organizational structure of the league is similar to that of the "Revolutionary Syndicalist Committees," which existed in the C. G. T. of France prior to the split but it is not an exact duplicate. In all phases of its work the league has borrowed from all hitherto existing left wing trade union movements in all parts of the world and introduced many new features of its own. The old methods and the new ones are blended together into a unified plan to fit the American situation. The league is characterized by a great flexibility of form and method and it is constantly adjusting itself to meet new problems. It has out-maneuvered the reactionaries at every turn so far; mobilizing the full force of the militants for every fight and extracting the utmost advantage from every situation.

In its form of organization, the league represents a bloc of all progressive and militant workers in the unions who are willing to join in the common fight for the betterment of the unions and the overthrow of the Gompers' machine. It is bringing together the trade union militants of almost every faction of the left wing. The report of its First National Conference shows that there were present as delegates members of the Communist Party, farmer-labor party, socialist party, proletarian party, syndicalists, anarchists, and honest trade unionists unaffiliated to any faction. The leadership is in the hands of the Communists, but this is only because they have as a rule shown the most ability and energy. In many localities the Communists are a minority, and in some places flourishing branches of the league exist where there is as yet no Communist Party organization at all; experience has shown, however, that the leading spirits everywhere gravitate more and more toward the Workers

(Communist) Party. The socialists have recently shown a disposition to withdraw from the league and join the fight against it. This is not because the league has narrowed its basis, but because the socialist party is turning more to the right and has ceased to offer any opposition to Gompers. Some of the most bitter struggles of the league are being waged today in the socialist-controlled needle trades union. Of course, as a militant organization, it does not want the affiliation of reactionaries who merely wear a socialist mask. But the fundamental basis of the league is the unification of all honest opposition elements on a broad program.

The local organization of the league has two forms: the general group and the industrial groups. All the members of the league in a given locality, regardless of the union they belong to, are brought together in the Local General Group. This group has general supervision of the propaganda work, it arranges public meetings co-ordinates the activities of the various units and stimulates the formation of new ones. The Local Industrial Group consists of trade union members belonging to unions in the same industry, such as the building trades workers, the metal workers, etc. The work of this group is more specific. Its task is to organize all the revolutionary and progressive forces within the given industry for the practical fight in the unions, on questions which specifically relate to their unions, as well as for the general slogans of the league. League members in each separate union are naturally organized into a nucleus and carry on a systematic and intensive work within it. These nuclei are formed in all unions, independent as well as A. F. of L.

The Local Industrial Groups are united in the National Industrial Conference. In most of the principal industries already National Industrial Conferences have been held to which have come the delegates from the Local Industrial Groups. The National Industrial Conference plays a role of great importance in the unions of each in-

dustry. It unites the movement in the entire industry and gives a lead to its work. It studies the needs and weaknesses of the unions in the industry and lays down a detailed and specific program to improve the situation. The National Industrial Conference binds the movement together on a national scale and coordinates the activities of the various unions and the various localities. It also elects a national committee which directs the national campaign between conferences.

While the league is based exclusively on the unions and, in its main organization, parallels their national structure, it has also, in order to facilitate its work, four geographical subdivisions. They comprise the eastern states, the central states, the western states and Canada. Each of these districts is in charge of a special district organizer who keeps in constant touch with various units in his district and co-ordinates their work.

The whole movement is welded together into one national body by the general conference, which is held at intervals of a year and a half, and to which all the affiliated local groups are entitled to send delegates. This general conference surveys the whole field and gives a general direction to the national movement. It considers all problems of a general nature and adopts a policy in regard to them. It crystallizes the experience of the year and puts it into the form of resolutions for the guidance of the militants. The general conference undertakes to answer every question and deal with every problem confronting the left wing movement. It also elects the national committee of seven members, one of whom is the national secretary.

The league has mastered the problem of realistic revolutionary work, steering clear of sectarianism as well as opportunism. It combines a frankly revolutionary program and a devoted adherence to the Red International of Labor Unions with energetic and practical campaigns on issues of immediate concern to the trade unions. The American labor movement, except for the Canadian section, has developed to the point where the question of affiliation to the Red International can be made the big immediate fighting issue, but, in spite of this, the league, by a steady propaganda, has succeeded in making its principles known to large numbers of workers and in winning their support. The official labor movement is too conservative even for Amsterdam, but the Trade Union Educational League is inspired by the spirit of Moscow. The revolutionary goal runs like a red thread through all the concrete practical activity of the league.

What the Left Wing Has Accomplished.

By EARL R. BROWDER

IN drawing up a balance sheet for the first three years of organized activity of the left wing of the American trade unions, represented by the Trade Union Educational League, we cannot content ourselves with a bare recital of the various battles, lost and won, nor even pay much attention to separate struggles except as they illustrate a point or mark a new turn of events. What we want most of all, is some definite conception of what the situation in the trade union movement was three years ago, what were the conditions under which it worked for the past three years, what part was played by the reactionary officialdom and by the left wing in the events of that period, and where we are at today.

Economic Conditions of the Period

Conditions of industry were prosperous (using the word in the economic sense of comparatively high production and brisk movement of commodities and not as indicating the actual condition of the workers) during most of the three years. The year 1922, when the T. U.

E. L. began its wide-spread activity, was the year of recovery from the 1920-21 depression; 1923 was the peak year of the boom; 1924 witnessed a decided downward trend but, on the average, kept very close to the previous year.

It would be a mistake, however, to draw the conventional conclusions regarding the condition of the labor movement on the basis of the general industrial prosperity. It is usual to look for organizational extensions of the trade unions, and some sort of progress in the way of higher wages and better working conditions, during periods of prosperity; while the times of industrial depression have ordinarily been marked by stagnation or decline in the trade union movement. This has not been the case during the period with which we are dealing.

During the three years the American Federation of Labor lost more than a million members, declining from around 4,000,000 to 2,865,979; unions independent of the A. F. of L. followed much the same course.

Wages advanced slightly during the first part of the period, but declined in the latter part, wiping out the gains. Exceptions to this are more than compensated for in the industries where wages were hardest hit.

Working conditions declined sharply in this period. While some improvement is noted, for example, in the steel industry due to the partial introduction of the 8-hour day, in others the gains of years of organization and effort were wiped out. Thus in the railroad shops, the unions have been almost destroyed by the unsuccessful strike of 1922, wages have declined, working rules have been altered against the interests of the workers. In the mining industry, the three-year agreement signed by the union had only the effect of restraining strike action by the miners, but has not prevented the mine owners from wiping out the working rules that were supposed to protect the miners. Accumulations of grievances of this kind have been so great that, in the anthracite fields,

there have been great "outlaw" strikes.

The economic consequences of the period, in their effect upon the working class, may be illustrated in the following brief items:

Production of commodities	Index number
October, 1923	123
October, 1924	122
Number of workers employed	
October, 1923	92
October, 1924	81

(Figures of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, "Review of Current Business.")

In short, ten per cent less workers have been employed, but the intensity of their exploitation has been increased so that they produce approximately the same as the number formerly employed. At the same time the total amount of wages paid has decreased sharply.

Officials Betrayed the Labor Movement.

The explanation of this unexampled collapse of the labor movement, its complete failure to protect the gains of past years altho conditions were exceptionally favorable for struggle, lies in the systematic betrayal of the labor organizations by the officials.

This betrayal is not an accidental thing, a matter of the personal corruption of individuals, but arises out of the very life and material conditions of the working class and their organizations, which developed this officialdom into a special class. During the period of expansion of American capitalism, this officialdom found that it could obtain concessions of a minor nature from the employers by entering into close collaboration with them. These concessions to the workers, in the way of slightly higher wages out of the abundant riches flowing from the tremendous natural resources of America under the highly developed industry, were sufficient to keep the labor officials in power; while they were made the basis

for establishing a tradition of immensely high salaries for these same officials from the unions. Added to their high salaries was the graft that unprincipled officials could extort from the employers. But more important than all was the opportunities given to the labor officials to make money "on the side" thru speculation, etc., which came from their association with the employers. It is much simpler to give a tip on the stock market than to give a bribe, as the employers soon learned. The net result of all these influences, the effect of which was multiplied tenfold during the war period, was to produce in the officialdom of the labor movement of America a definite sub-class of the bourgeoisie, a bureaucracy which had become a distinct instrument of the ruling class of America. Long before 1920 it was the usual thing for "labor leaders" to become wealthy, to leave the labor movement in order to head large industrial corporations, or to enter capitalist political life. What was true of the higher strata was true in a smaller way of the lower grades. Labor leadership had become a lucrative profession, vying with capitalist law and politics.

Then came the world-wide capitalist offensive against the labor movement. American capitalism, establishing its imperialist hegemony abroad, also proceeded to intensify exploitation at home. The labor movement had been sufficiently corrupted and weakened that the unions could be safely disregarded. Wage slashes and union-smashing campaigns became the order of the day. And, under the leadership of the corrupted bureaucracy, under the systematic betrayal of their own leaders, the unions suffered demoralization and disaster.

The Rise of the Left-Wing Movement.

It was at this point in the history of American labor that the Trade Union Educational League, organ of the fighting left wing of the labor unions, began its active operations. The conditions described above furnished the basis and generated the motive force of this left wing movement. The T. U. E. L. gave, for the first time,

a national direction and a rallying center to the class conscious elements in the trade unions. The growth of the left wing as a result has been phenomenal.

William Z. Foster was the organizer and directing head of this great movement. For many reasons he was particularly fitted for his task, only one of which shall be dealt with here, the part he played in the two great organization campaigns which brought the packing house workers and the steel workers into the unions and in leading the great steel strike of 1919-20. The two organization campaigns which Foster conceived, organized, and executed, marked the highest point in the American labor movement and were the last great effort along the lines of strictly trade union endeavor to save the unions from degeneration. The steel strike was not alone a struggle of half a million workers against the steel corporation, it was at the same time the supreme effort of the proletarian forces in the American labor movement to break the strangle-hold of the bureaucracy, which was choking the life out of it, by means of action along the traditional lines of trade unionism. The failure of these efforts, with the black reaction that followed, laid the basis for the modern left-wing movement, while the experience of Foster in these struggles and his outstanding leadership in them, made him the logical leader of the new movement.

The Sweep of Amalgamation.

Characterizing the first period in the work of the Trade Union Educational League, leading the militant rank and file of the unions, is the tremendous sweep of sentiment and demand for amalgamation of the antiquated craft unions into powerful industrial unions one of the basic slogans of the T. U. E. L. This was the period of agitation and education, the preparation of the ground for real work to come, for organization and struggle. It was the most dramatic phase of the left-wing movement in the last three years.

In March, 1922, the famous Chicago Amalgamation

Resolution was adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Immediately Gompers sounded the alarm. He opened a barrage of abuse and denunciation against Foster and the Trade Union Educational League in his own press, and in the capitalist daily papers. He traveled over the country, rallying the cohorts of the bureaucracy to combat this new "menace." The issue of "Amalgamation" became the most talked of subject thruout the labor movement almost overnight.

But the bureaucrats, unfit for any kind of struggle because of their soft and parasitic existence, could not even struggle effectively against the amalgamation movement. In the four months, June to September, 1922, the left wing had swept thru seven state conventions with the amalgamation program, carrying them by huge majorities. These states were Minnesota, Wisconsin, Washington, Indiana, Nebraska, Utah and Michigan. Dozens of the most important city central councils, particularly in the West, fell into line. The Moulders, the Typographical Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with several independent unions, also joined in the demand for amalgamation. The great railway workers' movement was launched, co-incident with the collapse of the shopmen's strike, carrying with it thousands of local unions. By October four more state federations, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, and Colorado, also went on record for amalgamation, and shortly after Montana and Pennsylvania. The great convention of the railway maintenance men in Detroit, with over a thousand delegates, overwhelmingly adopted the measure. In all sixteen state federations and fourteen international unions endorsed amalgamation during the campaign. It was a veritable landslide.

The Railroad Amalgamation Movement.

An oustanding achievement of this period was the great movement among the railroad workers. At the convention of the Railway Employes' Department of the

A. F. of L., held in Chicago in May, 1922, the left wing delegates had presented a resolution for amalgamation as the first necessity to win the shopmen's strike then looming up. They actually convinced a majority of the delegates, but the officialdom coerced enough of them into line to defeat it by a small margin. The necessity for rank and file pressure to force any action from the official machinery of the unions was apparent.

This task was taken up by the Railway Shop Crafts' Legislative Committee, of St. Paul, Minnesota, of which Otto Wangerin was the secretary and leading spirit. This body adopted a comprehensive plan of amalgamation, published it as a leaflet, and sent it out with a ballot to every local union of railroad workers in the United States and Canada.

The "Minnesota Plan," as it is called, was greeted with enthusiasm. The plan was first published in July, 1922. Within a few months more than a thousand local unions had adopted it. The committee then called a conference of delegates from local nuions, to consider ways and means of bringing amalgamation about, and to set up the necessary organizational machinery. This conference met in December, 1922, in Chicago. There were over 400 delegates in attendance, from all over the United States and Canada, from as far south as Birmingham, west to the Pacific coast, and east to the Atlantic. Every union of railroaders was represented. It confirmed the Minnesota Plan, set up an organization known as the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry, and launched a paper, the **Amalgamation Advocate**. Within six months the Minnesota Plan had been endorsed by 3,377 local railroad workers' unions in the United States and Canada.

How the bureaucracy damned up this flood of amalgamation sentiment, and defeated the will of the rank and file, is illustrated by the case of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. The laws of this union provide for a referendum vote on propositions submitted by five locals in

as many different states. An amalgamation proposition was adopted under this referendum law, supported by more than fifty local unions. It was thrown out by the executive of the union without the slightest pretext of legality. The referendum was tried again, with even more local unions in support. Again it was thrown out. Then a vote was taken on whether a convention should be held. The reactionaries defeated the calling of a convention by making the ballots in such a manner that to vote for a convention required also voting for an assessment of $5, altho the union had in its treasury more than two millions of dollars at the time.

The situation in the railroad unions was paralelled to a greater or lesser extent, in practically every union and industry in the country. The rank and file was overwhelmingly in favor of amalgamation. But their organizations were in the hands of the corrupt labor bureaucracy, agents of the enemies of the workers, and the rank and file had not yet forged the instruments of struggle necessary in order to take possession of their own organizations and make of them fighting instruments against the capitalist class.

The Labor Party Campaign.

Early in its organized activity, the left wing began to understand from experience and from the propaganda of the T. U. E. L., the absolute necessity of clearly combining labor union and industrial struggle with political struggle in its widest sense. At the same time a movement, vague and undefined but with large potentialities, for a labor party based upon the same general lines as that of Great Britain, was taking shape and expressing itself in America. There was an opportunity, by working within this movement and hooking it up with the more immediate and acute struggles of the workers, to direct it toward the class struggle and develop the political consciousness of larger masses of workers. The T. U. E. L., acting in agreement with the policy of the Workers (Communist) Party, launched a great campaign

along this line. The labor party campaign of the left wing had a deep effect for the time upon the trade unions.

In December, 1922, the T. U. E. L. issued a statement entitled "A Political Party for Labor," in which it laid down a program for drawing the trade unions directly into the political struggle against the capitalist state in alliance with the Communists. It called upon all its followers to carry out a campaign of education and organization along the lines laid down.

In March, 1923, the league conducted a referendum on the question in a circular letter and ballot sent to 35,000 local unions in the United States, accompanying the letter with a copy of the league statement. The response was wide-pread and resulted in intense agitation and discussion, in which the idea of a labor party received wide acceptance, and the impulse toward political action was stimulated greatly.

A reflex of this stirring appeared in May, in a call for a national farmer-labor convention, issued by the Farmer-Labor Party of which John Fitzpatrick was the head, for July 3, in Chicago. The left-wing elements supported this call and made of the convention a great gathering of over 600 delegates from all over the country.

The tremendous left-wing sentiment at that gathering, on the one hand, and the collapse of the so-called progressive leaders who bolted and returned to the Gompers camp, on the other hand, presaged the acute struggle that was ahead, and the realignment of forces that would be necessary before any effective left wing, industrial or political, could forge ahead.

The T. U. E. L. participated actively, thereafter, in the building up of local and state labor parties, and in the preparation of the convention of June 17, 1924, at St. Paul, which it was hoped would put a working class ticket in the presidential election and unify wide masses of workers in the political struggle. But the LaFollette

illusion, which blinded the eyes of the backward workers and enabled self-seeking leaders to break up the support of the ticket elected at St. Paul, finally destroyed the farmer-labor party movement and liquidated it into the petty-bourgeois class collaborationist movement of La-Follette. The Workers (Communist) Party nominated Foster and Gitlow, and the T. U. E. L. supported the Communist campaign with all its power.

During the two years of its participation in the political struggles and education of the workers for a labor party the T. U. E. L. achieved one great thing: It learned, and it made clear to the class conscious workers, that there is only one working class party, and that is the Workers (Communist) Party.

The Bureaucrats Resort to Expulsions.

We in America were not to be spared the experience of all left-wing movements the world over in the struggle against class collaboration—the experience of expulsions of militants from the unions by the bureaucracy in order to prevent the winning of the rank and file.

In the second year of the league these began as a systematic campaign, as a definite policy of the reactionaries. Already there had ben resort to this weapon, as early as the spring of 1922, by John L. Lewis, when he expelled Howat from the Miners' Union to prevent that sturdy battler from winning the miners to a policy of struggle. The storm broke in the summer of 1923, immediately after the split with the fake progressives in the farmer-labor party convention in Chicago.

Logically enough, in spite of the seeming contradiction, the first campaign of expulsions against the left wing came in one of the more "advanced" unions, the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Dominated by yellow socialists, the union learned from the Amsterdam fakers more quickly, being also spurred on by the more active, better organized and intelligent, left wing in the union thru which that organization was rapidly being won over to the left wing policies. The reaction-

aries kept their tight grip upon the treasury of the union by drastic expulsions, discriminations, and "re-organizations" thruout the country, culminating in the Boston convention, May, 1924, which spent nine of its ten days exorcising the Communists by means of a reactionary majority built up from appointed delegates, delegates from "newly organized" locals, etc. The left wing was checked in its outward manifestations of power, but in its deep, quiet, intensive work among the rank and file it was tremendously strengthened, so that today the left wing in the I. L. G. W. U. is so firmly rooted and well organized that it is a permanent factor in the life of the union.

It was in the course of this struggle, in August, 1923, that an attempt was made upon the life of William Z. Foster. Three shots were fired at him by a gunman, while he was on the platform speaking to a mass meeting in Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, held in protest against the expulsion of left-wingers.

From the garment industry, the game of expulsion against the left wing spread to other unions, until today there are expelled militants battling for re-admittance to the unions in almost every industry, particularly among the miners, machinists, carpenters, and in the city central bodies.

The official sanction to expulsion as the reactionaries' chief weapon to silence the left wing was given in the dramatic expulsion of Bill Dunne from the Portland convention of the A. F. of L., 1923, which was approved by Sam Gompers and engineered by his successor, William Green. Dunne's speech on that occasion, circulated by the T. U. E. L. thruout the labor movement in more than a hundred thousand copies, has become the classic indictment of the trade union bureaucrats.

The Progressive Miners.

Undoubtedly the most bitter and deep-going struggle during the whole second period of the left wing development has been in the United Mine Workers' Union. This

struggle has crystallized around the Progressive Miners' International Committee, of which the T. U. E. L. militants and the Communists are the leading spirits.

When Lewis succeeded in fraudulently expelling Howat, in the convention of March, 1922, just before the last great miners' strike, the lines within the union were not yet clearly drawn. At that time the oustanding champion of Howat's rights in the union was still Frank Farrington of Illinois, an arch-faker who was using Howat's case as a club in his fight for position against Lewis. The beginning of clarification came in the latter part of 1922, after the main strike was settled, and Lewis betrayed the miners of Fayette County, Pennsylvania. This began a big struggle in which the T. U. E. L. militants were the only organized leadership of the left wing in the U. M. W. A. During that period, also, the miners of District 26, Nova Scotia, Canada, elected a complete left-wing slate of officers and engaged in a bitter struggle against the mine operators, the British Empire Steel corporation.

A tendency among hot-headed and impatient elements in the rank and file to split away from reactionary unions has been one of the things the left wing has had to fight against everywhere. This fight has been very successful so that today the only splitters of any influence are the reactionary bureaucrats. In the beginning of the miners' left wing a serious struggle was required against the splitting idea, however, and it was the T. U. E. L. that carried it out successfully. A threatening split in the anthracite region in 1923 was overcome by the T. U. E. L. influence; while in Canada the pernicious influence of the O. B. U., a small dual union, has been successfully overcome.

The Progressive Committee, the center thru which the striggle has been carried on for a fighting miners' union and to correct the mistakes of the militants and unify them upon a realistic program, was launched at a conference in Pittsburgh, Pa., in February, 1923. This preliminary gathering called a larger conference from all over the continnent, in the same city, in June. At these gatherings the left wing was definitely unified thruout the United States and Canada.

The result was instantaneous. Not only were the left-wingers clarified, but also the reactionaries. Lewis immediately expelled Tom Myerscough, secretary of the Progressive Miners. In a dramatic reconciliation, Farrington and Lewis, the two biggest bureaucrats in the union who had been calling one another thief, traitor, and skunk for years in public print, suddenly found that they really loved one another very much, and that the "red menace" made it possible for them to co-operate together in a common fight against the left. Lewis heaped more fuel upon the fires of revolt, by suspending the Nova Scotia miners to force them to bow to their corporation masters, and to force reversal of a vote to affiliate to the Red International of Labor Unions. Lewis further intensified the struggle by his betrayal of the anthracite strike in October, and by his collusion in the jailing of Jim McLachlan in Canada for his left wing leadership.

Behind the reactionary struggle against the left wing was a definite economic program—based upon the elimination of 200,000 miners from the industry as "unnecessary" to the employers, and upon collaboration with the bosses.

It was in February, 1924, when the U. M. W. A. met in convention in Indianapolis, that the left wing entered the stage of official national gatherings for the first time with a clear-cut program that drew a sharp line that no one could mistake—class struggle on one side and class collaboration on the other. It was a bitter battle and the young left wing made a magnificent showing. On the issue of the reinstatement of Howat, the left had won a large majority of the delegates, and the bureaucrats saved their skins only by adjourning the convention in disorder.

The outlaw strikes in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania at the close of 1924 and beginning of 1925 are but symptoms of the deepening resentment at the systematic betrayal that grows more intense daily thruout the miners' union. Leading the struggle there as everywhere else are the T. U. E. L. militants with the program of the Progressive Miners' Committee.

Trade Union Elections.

Living and glowing manifestations of how deeply the left wing movement has penetrated the masses are now being given in trade union elections wherever these are taking place. Outstanding among these, and constituting one of the greatest achievements of three years of struggle and organization, is the results of the election in the United Mine Workers.

In the election, running against Lewis and Murray the reactionary bureaucrats who control unlimited financial resources and the machinery of the union, were three unknown rank-and-file Communists, George Voyzey, Arley Staples and Joseph Nearing. The Progressive Committee was so poor that it couldn't even send out an organizer or speaker. It had to content itself with circulating 65,000 copies of its program—among the 400,000 members of the union. It was up against the most notoriously corrupt election machinery in the labor movement.

In spite of these and a thousand other handicaps, the progressive forces were so strong and their vote so big, that even the official returns, certied to by the reactionary bureaucrats themselves, are as follows:

Lewis, 136,209; Murray, 126,800; Green, 138,977.

Voyzey, 62,843; Staples, 66,038; Nearing, 51,686.

It was a tremendous achievement for this ticket of Communist rank and filers to force the corrupt Lewis to count more than one-third of the total vote for it. There is no question that thousands of left wing votes were stolen, and experience has demonstrated many times the ability of these bureaucrats to cast the vote of hun-

reds of local unions for themselves when these locals exist only on paper and have not paid a cent of per capita into the union for years. An honest election would probably have shown the Communists elected at the head of the mine workers' union. The election was a profound demonstration of the spirit of class struggle among the miners, of the deep roots of the left wing among them, and the inevitable victory in the not distant future of the program of the Trade Union Educational League.

One more election that is of profound significance as demonstrating the progress of the left-wing in the American labor unions. That is the election in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, one of the oldest and most reactionary organizations in the labor movement. Not only is this organization dominated by a most corrupt and reactionary leadership and tradition, but it is also in the buliding industry, which is one of the most prosperous fields of activity today in America, with high wages and comparatively favorable conditions for continued bureaucratic rule.

Yet even in this stronghold of reaction, where there has never before been a left wing, the rank and file are in such revolt against the sickening betrayals and class collaboration of the officialdom, that Morris Rosen, an unknown left winger of New York, was credited with almost 10,000 votes by the official election machinery, against the incumbent Hutcheson, and with another candidate, who traded on left wing sentiment by labelling himself "progressive," also in the field.

The Red International of Labor Unions.

The Trade Union Educational League has done even more than to organize and lead the militant workers in the American trade unions for the immediate struggle. It has also inspired them with a revolutionary goal. And above all, it has given them a living connection with the revolutionary labor unionists of the entire world thru the Red International of Labor Unions, of which the T.

U. E. L. is the American representative.

Representative delegations of American unionists have been present at the three congresses of the Red International at Moscow. They have participated in formulating the policies and tactics for the world movement, and, in turn, have brought back to America the benefit of the experience of the entire world movement. The T. U. E. L. has, in its magazine and papers, and in numerous pamphlets, brought the Red International intimately into the life of the American left wing.

The Pan-American Left Wing.

Already this international connection and inspiration has broken down the insularity of the American trade union left wingers. Internationalism upon a true working-class basis is already finding practical expression This was shown when a Pan-American left wing was formed in Mexico City on the occasion of the congress of the Gompersian instrument of American imperialism, the Pan-American Federation of Labor ruled formerly by Gompers and now by his Mexican prototype, Morones. At that gathering the left wing delegates, together with representatives of the Trade Union Educational League, the Workers (Communist) Party of America, the Mexican Communist Party, and the Mexican Committee for the Red International, formed the Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League.

* * * *

Three years of organization, education, and struggle are now behind the Trade Union Educational League. These years have demonstrated beyond doubt to every serious-minded revolutionary worker that the forces have finally been crystallized that will re-make the labor movement of America into the instrument that will, under the leadership of the Communist International, carry on successfully the fight against capitalist exploitation and the capitalist dictatorship, for its final overthrow, and for the establishment of a workers society under the dictatorship of the working class.

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